A BRIEFE RELATION OF THE DEATH AND SVFFERINGS OF THE MOST REVEREND AND RENOWNED PRELATE THE L. ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBVRY:

VVith,

A more perfect Copy of his Speech, and other passages on the Scaffold, than hath beene hitherto imprinted.

JEREM. 26. 14, 15.

14. *As for mee, behold I am in your hands, do with mee as seemeth good and meete unto you:*

15. *But know ye for certaine, that if yee put mee to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves, and upon this City, and upon the Inhabitants thereof, &c.*

OXFORD,

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A BRIEFE RELATION OF THE DEATH AND sufferings of the most Reverend and Renowned Prelate, the Lord Arch-Bishop of CANTERBURY, &c.

IT is a prepostorous kind of writing to begin the story of a great mans life, at the houre of his death; a most strange way of setting forth a solemne *Tragedie*, to keepe the *principall actor* in the *tyring-house*, till the *play* be done, and then to bring him on the *stage* onely to speake the *Epilogue*, and receive the Plaudites. Yet this must be the scope and method of these following papers. To write the whole life of the most Reverend and renowned *Prelate* the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, would require more time then publique expectation can endure to heare of. Those that can judge (as all wise men may) of the brightnesse and glories of the Sunne in his highest altitude by the clearenesse of his going downe; or that can *Ortum Solis in occasu quærere*: discerne the rising of the Sunne (as once *Straton* did) by the reflection of his beames in a Westerne cloud: may by the glorious manner of his death and sufferings, presented in these short *Remembrances*, conjecture at the splendour of *Justin. hist. l. 11.*

those rare endowments both of Grace and nature, wherewith his former life was adorned and beautified. The ordinary and unsatisfied Reader, may for his farther satisfaction, repaire to Master *Pryn's Breviate* of his life and actions, though publish'd of purpose to defame him, and render him more odious to the common people. Concerning which, the Reader may observe in breife, that all which Mr *Pryn's* industrious malice hath accused him of in those Collections, is, that he was a man of such eminent vertues, such an exemplary piety towards God, such an unwearied fidelity to his gracious Soveraigne, of such a publique soule towards Church and State; so fixt a Constancie in Freindship, and one so little biassed by his private interesses; that this Age affords not many Equalls. And it would trouble *Plutarch*, (if he were alive,) to finde out a fit *Parallell* with whom to match him. All therefore I shall doe at the present time, (and 'tis the last publique Office I shall doe him) is, to lay downe the story of his *death* and *sufferings*, together with a view of those *plots* and *practises* which were set on foote, to plucke a few yeares from a weake old man, and bring him to an unnaturall calamitous end. For though that *maxime* in *Philosophy* is most true and certaine; that *corruptio est in instanti*, that death comes to us in a *moment*, or *in the twinkling of an eye*, as the Scriptures phrase it; yet are there many *previous dispositions* which make way unto it; all which are comprehended in the name of *death*. And in that latitude of expression doe we take the word, in laying downe the story of his *death* before you; which being writ out of an honest zeale to truth, and a sincere affection to his name and memory, shall either be approved of, or at least excused.

1 Cor. 15. 52.

II. It was the practice and position of the antient *Donatists*, (the Predecessours and Progenitors of the moderne *Puritan*) *occidere quemcunq; qui contra eos fecerit*; to kill and make away whoever durst oppose their doings, or was conceived

Opt. de Schism. Donatist. l. 1.

to

to be an hinderance to their growing faction. And by this *Card* their followers in these Kingdomes have beene *steered* of late, imprisoning and destroying all who have stood against them. It is long since they enterteined such desperate purposes against the life and person of the Lord Arch-Bishop, threatning his death in scattered libels, telling him *that his life was sought for*, that *neither God nor man could endure so vile a Counsellour to live any longer*. This was about the end of *March*. 1629. and was the *Prologue* to those *libels* full of threats and scandals, which yeare by yeare exasperated and inflamed the people, till they had made them ripe for mischeife, and readily prepared to execute whatever their grand Directours should suggest unto them. Saint *Paul* did never fight more frequent and more terrible combats with the *beasts of Ephesus*, for the promotion of the Gospell, then he with these untractable and fiery spirits, who most seditiously opposed his religious purposes of setling *unity* and *uniformity* in this Church of *England*. And in this state things stood till the yeare, 1640. in which not onely many factious and seditious people in and about the City of *London*, made an assault by night on his house at *Lambeth*, with an intent to murther him, had they found him there: but the whole faction of the *Scots* declared in a *Remonstrance* to the *English* nation, that one of the cheife causes which induced them to invade this Realme, was to remove him from His Majesty, and bring him to the punishment which he had deserved. The manner of their coming hither, and the great entertainment given them by the faction here, shewed plainely that they were not like to be sent away without their *Errand*: and makes it evident that his ruine was resolved on in their *secret Counsels* before the Parliament was called, or that they had declared so much by their *will revealed*.

The *Parliament* had not long continued, but he is named for an *Incendiarie* by the *Scottish Commissioners*; and there- III.

upon accuſed of treaſon by the *Houſe of Commons*. And al-
Decemb. 18. 1640. though no particular *Charge* was brought againſt him, but onely a bare promiſe to prepare it in convenient time; yet was he preſently committed to the cuſtody of the *Gentleman Uſher*, and by him kept in dureſſe till the end of *February*, (being full tenne weekes;) about which time his charge was brought unto the *Lords*, but in generals onely, and longer time required for particular inſtances. And yet upon this *Lydford-law*, (by which they uſed to hang men firſt, and endite them afterwards,) was he committed to the *Tower*, being followed almoſt all the way by the Raſcall multitude,
March. 1. 1640. who barbarouſly perſued him with reproach and clamours to the very gates; and there detained, contrary to all law and juſtice, almoſt foure yeares longer. This was the firſt great breach which was made by *Parliament* in the *liberties* of the *Engliſh* Subject; (ſave that their like proceedings with the Earle of *Strafford*, was a preparative unto it;) and was indeed the very *gappe*, at which the *ſlavery* and *oppreſſion*, under which this miſerable nation doth now pine and languiſh, did breake in upon them. What right could meaner perſons looke for, when as ſo great a *Peere* was doomed to ſo long impriſonment, without being called unto his Anſwer! What elſe hath filled ſo many *Priſons* in moſt parts of the Kingdome, with the beſt and wealthieſt of the Subjects; but the moſt dangerous effects and conſequences of this woſull *Precedent!* Which as it was the leading caſe unto all our preſſures; ſo might thoſe preſſures have beene remedied, had the Subject made his Caſe their owne; and laboured to prevent it in convenient time. But ſuch a miſerable *infatuation* had befallen them generally, that *ſeeing they*
Matth. 13. 14. *did ſee, but would not perceive.*

IV. But yet the malice of his Enemies was not ſo contented. For though ſome of the more moderate (or rather the leſſe violent) *Lords*, who did not peirce into the depth of the deſigne, gave out that they intended onely to remove him

from

from His Majesties eare, and to deprive him of his *Arch-Bishopricke*, (which resolution notwithstanding being taken up before any charge was brought against him, was as unjust though not so cruell, as the others:) yet they shewed only by this *Overture*, that they did reckon without their hosts, and might be of the *Court* perchance, but not of the *Counsell*. The leading and predominant party thought of nothing lesse, then that he should escape with *life*, or go off with *liberty*. Onely perhaps they might conceive some wicked hopes, that either the tediousnesse of his restraint, or the indignities and affronts which day by day were offer'd to him, would have broke his heart, not formerly accustomed to the like oppressions. And then like *Pilate* in the Gospell rhey had called for *water, and washed their hands, before the multitude, and said, that they were innocent of the blood of that righteous person:* thinking that by such wretched *figge-leaves*, they could not onely hide their wickednesse, and *deceive* poore *men*; but that *God* also might be *mocked*, and his all-seeing eye deluded, to which *all hearts* lye *open*, *all desires* are *knowne, and from which no secrets can be hidden*. To this end not content to immure him up within the walls of the *Tower*, they robbe him of his *meniall* servants, restraine him to two only of all his number, and those not to have conference with any others, but in the presence of his *Warder*: and in conclusion make him a *close Prisoner*, not suffering him to goe out of his lodging to refresh himselfe, but in the company of his *keeper*. And all this while they vex his soule continually with scandalous and infamous Papers, and set up factious and seditious Preachers to inveigh against him in the Pulpit to his very face; so to expose him to the scorne both of boyes and women, who many times stood up and turned towards him, to observe his countenance, to see if any alteration did appeare therein. And to the same ungodly end, did they devest him of his *Archiepiscopall and Episcopall* jurisdiction, conferring it on his inferiour and subordinate Officers; sequester his rents under

Matt. 27. 24.

Octob. 26. and Novemb. 16. 1642.

May. 9. 1643.

As May. 15. 1642.

Oct. 23. 1641. under pretence of maintenance for the Kings younger Children, (as if His Majesties Revenues which they had invaded, were not sufficient for that purpose;) convert his House at *Lambeth* into a Prison, and confiscate all his coales and fewell to the use of their Gaoler; deprive him of his right of *Patronage*, and take into their owne hands the disposing of all his *Benefices*; seize upon all his goods and bookes which they found at *Lambeth*; and in conclusion rifle him of his notes and Papers, not onely such as were of ordinary use and observation, but such as did concerne him in the way of his just *defence*. In which they did not any thing from the first to the last, but in a proud *defiance* to the lawes of the land; which they most impudently violated in all these particulars: and more then so, they had proceeded steppe by steppe, to this height of tyranny a whole yeare almost before they had digested their generall charge into particular Accusations; or ever called him to his Answer in due forme of law.

Nov. 8. 1642.
Jan. 5. 1642.
May. 16. 1643.
May. 9. 1643.
May 31. 1643.

V. But God had given him such a measure both of strength and patience, that these afflictions, though most great and irksome, did make no more impressions on him, then an Arrow on a rocke of *Adamant*. For at his first commitment he besought his God, (as Master *Pryn* observes out of his *Manuall of devotions*) to *give him full patience, proportionable comfort, and contentment with whatsoever he should send*; and he was heard in that he prayed for. For notwithstanding that he had fed so long on the *bread of carefulnesse*, and dranke the *water of affliction*: yet, as the Scripture telleth us of the *foure Hebrew children, his countenance appeared fairer and fatter in flesh, then any of those who eat their portion of the Kings meat, or dranke of his wine.* And he was wont to say to his private friends, that, he *thanked God, he never found more sweet contentment in his greatest liberty, then in the time of that restraint.* And certainly it was no wonder that it should be so, he being conscious to himselfe of no other

Dan 1. 13.

crimes,

crimes, which drew that fatall ſtorme upon him, then a religious *zeale to the honour of God, the happineſſe of the King, and the preſervation of the Church in her peace and patrimony*, as he proteſted at his death before all the people. So that deſpairing of ſucceſſe in the way intended, his enemies fell upon another but more deſperate courſe, which was to ſhippe him for *New England*, and make him ſubject to the inſolencies of *Wells* and *Peters*, two notorious *Schiſmatickes*. But this being put unto the queſtion in the Houſe of *Commons*, was rejected by the *major* part: not out of pity to his Age, or conſideration of his quality, nor in reſpect unto the lawes ſo often violated; but to preſerve him yet a while, as a ſtale or property, wherewith to cheate the *Citizens* of ſome further ſummes, and to invite the *Scots* to a new invaſion, when their occaſions ſo required. For it was little doubted by diſcerningmen, but that the *Scots*, who made their firſt invaſion on a probable hope of ſequeſtring the Lord Archbiſhop and the Earle of *Strafford* from His Majeſties Counſells; and ſped ſo well in their deſigne, that, they were recompenſed already with the death of the one, would eaſily be tempted to a ſecond journey, upon aſſurance to be glutted with the bloud of the other.

Aprill. 25. 1643.

VI.

And this appeares more plaine and evident, in that about the comming on of the *Scots*, which was in the middeſt of *January* 1643. they did againe revive the buſineſſe, which had long layen *dormant*; cauſing the *Articles*, which they had framed in maintenance of their former *Accuſation*, to be put in print about that time, as is apparent by the *Teſt* of *John Browne* their Clerke, dated the 17 of that Moneth. And as the *Scots* advanced or ſlackened in their *marches* ſouthward, ſo did they either quicken or retard the worke: till hearing of the great ſucceſſes which they had in *Yorkeſhire*, they gave command to Maſter *Prynne* (a man moſt miſcheivouſly induſtrious to diſturbe the publicke) *to proſecute the charge againſt him, and bring him to his long ex-*

In his Epiſtle to the Breviate.

pected

pected triall; as he reports it of himselfe, who, having rifled him of his Papers, and thereby robbed him of those helpes, which he had purposely reserved for his just defence; and having personall quarrells of his owne to revenge upon him, was thought to be the fittest *blouds-hound* in the whole kennell, to pursue the sent. And now there was no talke but of quicke dispatch. When *hatred* doth accuse, and *malice* prosecute, and prejudice and *prepossession* sit upon the *Bench*, God helpe the innocent. There's nothing but a miracle can preserve him then. And so it proved in the event. They called him often to the *Barre*, both before and after, caused a strict inquisition to be made into all his actions; they *winnowed* him like *wheate*, and *sifted* him to the very bran, (which was you know the *Devills* office;) they had against him all advantages of power and malice, and witnesses at hand upon all occasions: but still they found his answers & his resolutions of so good a temper, his innocence & integrity of so bright a die; that as they knew not how to dismisse him with credit, so neither could they find a way to condemne him with justice. And though their Consciences could tell them, that he had done nothing which deserved either *death or bonds*; yet either to reward or oblige the *Scots*, who would not think themselves secure whilst his head was on, they were resolved to bring him to a speedy end. Onely they did desire, if possible, to lay the *Odium* of the murther on the common people. And therefore Serjeant *Wilde* in a speech against him, having aggravated his supposed offences to the highest pitch, concluded thus, that *he was guilty of so many and notorious treasons, so evidently destructive of the common-wealth, that he marveiled the people did not teare him in peeces as he passed betweene his barge and the Parliament Houses.* Which barbarous and bloudy project when it would not take, and that though many of the Rabble did desire his death, yet none would be the executioner; they then imployed some of their most malicious and most active instruments, to goe from doore to doore, and from

Luke 22. 31.

from man to man, to get hands againſt him; and ſo petition thoſe to haſten to his condemnation, which muſt forſooth be forced to their owne deſires: (whereof, and of the *Magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill, and ſuffering them to proceed* without any *check*, he gave them a *memento* in his dying ſpeech.) This being obtained, the buſineſſe was purſued with ſuch heate and violence, that by the begining of *November* it was made ready for a ſentence; which ſome conceived would have beene given in the *Kings Bench*, and that their proofes (ſuch as they were) being fully ripened, he ſhould have beene put over to a *Middleſex Jury*. But they were only ſome poore *Ignorants* which conceived ſo of it. The leading members of the Plot thought of no ſuch matter; and, to ſay truth, it did concerne them highly not to goe that way. For though there was no queſtion to be made at all, but that they could have packed a *Jury* to have found the *Bill*; but by a clauſe in the *Attaindure* of the Earle of *Strafford* they had bound the *Judges*, not to declare thoſe facts for treaſon in the time to come, for which they had condemned and executed that Heroicke Peere. And therefore it was done with great care and caution to proceed by *Ordinance*, and *vote* him *guiltie* firſt in the *Houſe of Commons*; in which being parties, witneſſes, and Judges too, they were aſſured to paſſe it as they would themſelves; which was done accordingly, about the 20 of *November*.

But yet the buſineſſe was not done, for the *Lords* ſtucke at it. Some of which having not extinguiſhed all the *ſparkes* of honour, did by the light thereof diſcover the injuſtice of ſo foule a practice; together with the danger might befall themſelves, if once diſfavoured by the *Grandees* of that potent faction. A thing ſo ſtomacked by the *Commons*, that after ſome evaporations of their heate and paſſion, which broke out into open threats, they preſently drew and ſent up an *Ordinance* to the *Lords*, tending to diſpoſſeſſe them

of all power and command in their Armies. But fearing this device was too weake to hold, they fall upon another and a likelier project, which was to bring the *Lords* to sit in the *Commons* House; where they were sure they should be inconsiderable both for power and number. And to effect the same with more speed and certainty, they had recourse to their old Arts, drew downe Sir *David Watkins* with his *generall muster* of subscriptions, and put a petition in his hands, to be tendred by him to the *Houses*, that is, themselves: wherein it was required amongst other things, that they would vigorously proceed unto the *punishment of all Delinquents*; and that for the more quicke dispatch of the publicke businesses of the State, the *Lords* would please to *vote* and *sit* together with the *Commons*. On such uncertaine termes, such a tickliſh *Tenure* doe they now hold their place and power in *Parliament*; who so officiously complied with the *House of Commons*, in depriving the *Bishops* of their *votes*, and the *Churches* birth-right. And this was it which helped them in that time of need. For by this (though stale and common) Stratagem did they prevaile so farre upon some weake spirits, that the Earles of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullingbrooke*, the Lords, *North*, *Gray* of *Wark*, and *Brews*, (a *Scotchman*, but an *English* Baron, and generally called the Earle of *Elgin*) resolved to yeild unto the current of so strong a streame: and thought they made a gaining voyage, if by delivering the Lord *Arch-Bishop* to the peoples fury, they might preserve themselves in the peoples favour. And we know well, both who it was and what end he came to, who, though he *knew* that the *accused party*
Mat. 27. v. 18. *was delivered him out of envy* onely, and that he found no e-
22. 23. 24. 26. *vill* he was guilty of; yet being wearied with the clamours and the *Crucifiges* of the common people, and fearing that some *tumult* would be made about it, *delivered him unto his Enemies* to be put to death. And for those other *Lords* who withdrew themselves, and neither durst *condemne* nor *protect the innocent*; (though far the *major* part, as it is reported)

ted) it is not easy to determine, whether their conscience were more tender, their Collusion grosser, or their courage weaker. All I shall say is onely this, that *Claudius Lysias* in the *Acts*, had beene as guilty of Saint *Pauls* death, as any of the *forty* who had *vowed to kill him*; if upon notice of the Plot which was laid to murther him, he had *brought him down unto the people*, or not conveied him with a strong guard to the Court of *Felix*. The journies end must needs be foule, which such lewd and crooked waies doe conduct unto. And it is worth your observation that the same day, the fourth of *January*, in which they passed this *bloudy Ordinance*, (as if therein they would cry quittance with His Sacred Majesty, who on the same accused the six guilty Members) they passed another for establishing their new *Directory*; which in effect is nothing but a totall abolition of the Common-prayer-booke: and thereby shewed unto the world, how little hopes they had of setling their new forme of worship, if the foundation of it were not laid in bloud.

Act. 23. v. 13. 20. 23, &c.

VIII.

The *Bill* being thus dispatched in the House of *Lords*, (if still they may be called the *Lords*, which are so *over-loaded* by the Common people) there wanted yet the Kings *Assent* to give life to it: which they so farre contemned, (they had more reason to despaire of it) that they never sought it. They had screwed up their *Ordinances* to so high a pitch, that never *Act* of *Parliament* was of more authority: and having found the Subjects so obedient as to yeild unto them in matters which concerned them in their *goods* and *liberties*; it was but one steppe more to make triall of them, whether they would submit their lives to the selfe same tyranny. And this they made the first experiment in this kinde, both of their own *power*, and the peoples *patience*; he being the *first man*, as himselfe noted in his speech, (which words are purposely omitted in *Hindes* Copy of it;) *that was* ever put to death by *Ordinance* in Parliament: but whether he shall be the last, further time will shew. Certaine it is, that by this

Ordinance

Ordinance they have now made themselves the absolute masters of the Subjects *life*, which they can call for at their pleasure, as no doubt they will; and left him nothing but his fetters, he can call his owne. Just as it was observed by our gracious Soveraigne, upon occasion of the *Ordinance* for *the* 20th *part*, that *the same power which robbed the Subject of the twentieth part of their Estates, had by that onely made a claime and entituled it selfe to the other* nineteene, *whensoever it should be thought expedient to hasten on the generall ruine.* In which His Majesty hath proved but too true a *Prophet.* And though perhaps some of the people were well pleased with this bloudy *Ordinance*, and ran with joy to see it put in *execution*; yet all wise men doe looke upon it as the last groane or gaspe of our dying *liberty.* And let both them and those who passed it, be assured of this, that they who doe so gladly *sell* the bloud of their fellow Subjects, seldome want *Chapmen* for their owne in an *open Market.*

Declaration about the twentieth part.

IX. And here, as it was once observed, that the predominant party of the *Vnited Provinces*, to bring about their ends in the death of *Barnevelt*, subverted all those *Fundamentall Lawes* of the *Belgick liberty*; for maintenance wherof they took up Arms against *Philip* the 2: so would I know which of those *Fundamentall Lawes* of the *English* Government have not beene violated by these men in their whole proceedings; for preservation of which lawes (or rather under colour of such preservation) they have bewitched the people unto this Rebellion: It is a *Fundamentall Law* of the *English* Government, and the first Article in the *Magna Charta*, that the Church of England *shall be free, and shall have her whole Rights and Priviledges inviolable*: yet to make way unto the condemnation of this innocent man, and other the like wicked and ungodly ends, the Bishops must be *Voted* out of their place in *Parliament*, which most of them have held farre longer in their *Predecessours*, then any of our noble Families in their Progenitours. And if the *Lords* refuse

Magna Ch. c. 1.

refuſe to give way unto it (as at firſt they did) the people muſt come downe to the Houſe in multitudes, and cry, *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*, at the Parliament doores, till by the terrour of their tumults they extort it from them. It is a *Fundamentall Law* of the *Engliſh* liberty, that *no Free-man ſhall be taken or impriſoned without cauſe ſhowne*, or *be detained* without being *brought unto his Anſwer in due forme of Law:* yet here wee ſee a Free-man impriſoned tenne whole weekes together, before any Charge was brought againſt him; and kept in priſon three yeares more, before his generall Accuſation was by them reduced into particulars; and for a yeare almoſt *detained* cloſe priſoner, without being *brought unto his anſwer*, as the Law requires. It is a *Fundamentall Law* of the *Engliſh* Government, that *no man be diſſeiſed of his Freehold or Liberties*, but by the knowne *Lawes of the Land*: yet here we ſee a man *diſſeiſed* of his *Rents* and Lands, ſpoyled of his *goods*, deprived of his *juriſdiction*, deveſted of his right of Patronage; and all this done, when he was ſo farre from being convicted by the Lawes of the Land, that no particular charge was ſo much as thought of. It is a *Fundamentall Law* of the *Engliſh* Liberty, that *no man ſhall be condemned, or put to death, but by lawfull judgement of his* Peeres, *or by the Law of the Land, i. e.* in the ordinary way of a legall tryall: and ſure an *Ordinance* of both Houſes, without the *Royall Aſſent*, is no part of the Law of *England*, nor held an ordinary way of tryall for the *Engliſh* ſubject, or ever reckoned to be ſuch in the former times. And finally, it is a *Fundamentall Law* in the *Engliſh* Government, that *if any other caſe* (then thoſe recited in the Statute of King *Edward* 3.) *which is ſuppoſed to be* Treaſon, *do happen before any of His Majeſties* Juſtices, *the* Juſtices *ſhall tarry without giving judgement, till the cauſe be ſhewne and declared before the* King *and His* Parliament, *whether it ought to be judged* Treaſon *or not*: yet here we have a new found *Treaſon*, never known before, nor declared ſuch by any of His Majeſties *Juſtices*, nor

Magn. Chart. c. 29. 28. *Edw.* 3. and the Petition of right.

Magn. Chart c. 29. 28. *Edw.* 3.

Ibid.

25. *Edw.* 3.

nor ever brought to be considered of by the *King and His Parliament*, but onely *Voted* to be such by some of those few *Members* which remaine at *Westminster*, who were resolved to have it so for their private ends. Put all which hath beene said together, and then tell me truly, if there be any difference (for I see not any) betweene the Ancient *Roman slaves*, and the once *Free-borne Subject* of the *English* Nation, whose *life* and *liberty*, whose *goods* and *fortunes* depend on the meere pleasure of their *mighty Masters*.

X. But to returne unto our Story, the passing of the *Ordinance* being made knowne unto him, he neither entertained the newes with a *Stoicall Apathie*, nor wailed his Fate with weake and womanish lamentations, (to which extreames most men are carried in this case) but heard it with so even and so smooth a temper, as shewed he neither was afraid to live, nor ashamed to die. The time betweene the Sentence and the Execution, he spent in prayers and applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, a Chaplaine of his owne, to attend upon him, and to assist him in the work of his preparation: though little preparation needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcome, because long expected. For so well was he studied in the art of dying (especially in the last & strictest part of his imprisonment) that by continuall fastings, watchings, prayers, and such like acts of Christian humiliation, his flesh was rarified into spirit, and the whole man so fitted for eternall glories, that he was more then halfe in heaven, before death brought his bloudy (but triumphant) chariot to convey him thither. He that had so long beene a *Confessour*, could not but thinke it a release of miseries to be made a *Martyr*. And as it is recorded of *Alexander* the Great, that the night before his best and greatest battaile with *Darius* the *Persian*, he fell into so sound a sleepe, that his Princes hardly could awake him when the morning came: so is it certified of this great *Prelate*, that on the even before his *Passeover*, the night before the

Plutarch in Alexandro.

dismall

dismall combat betwixt him and *death*, after he had refreshed his spirits with a moderate supper, he betooke himselfe unto his rest, and slept very soundly, till the time came in which his servants were appointed to attend his rising. A most assured signe of a Soule prepared. The fatall morning being come, he first applyed himselfe to his private prayers, and so continued, till *Pennington*, and other of their publique Officers came to conduct him to the Scaffold: which he ascended with so brave a courage, such a chearfull countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a triumph, then be made a sacrifice, and came not there to *die*, but to be *translated*. And to say truth, it was no *Scaffold*, but a *Throne*; a Throne whereon he shortly was to receive a *Crowne*, even the most glorious Crowne of *Martyrdome*. And though some rude, uncivill people reviled him as he passed along, with opprobrious language, as loth to let him goe to the *Grave* in peace, it never discomposed his thoughts, nor disturbed his patience. For he had profited so well in the Schoole of *Christ*, that *when he was reviled he reviled not againe, when he suffered he threatned not, but committed his cause to him that judgeth righteously*. And as he did not feare the frownes, so neither did he covet the applause of the vulgar herd, and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speake unto the people, then to affect the ostentation either of memory or wit in that dreadfull *Agony*: whether with greater *magnanimity* or *prudence*, I can hardly say. As for the matter of his Speech, besides what did concerne himselfe and his owne *purgation*, his great care was to cleare Mis Majestie, and the *Church* of *England* from any inclination unto *Popery*; with a perswasion of the which, the Authors of our present miseries had abused the people, and made them take up Armes against their Soveraigne. A faithfull servant to the last. By meanes whereof, as it is said of *Sampson* in the booke of *Judges*, that *the men which he slew at his death were more then they which he slew in his life*: so may it be affirmed of this famous

Friday Jan. 10. 1644.

1 Pet. 2. 23.

Judg. 21. 30.

mous Prelate, that he gave a greater blow unto the enemies of God and the King at the houre of his death, than he had given them in his whole life before; of which I doubt not but the King and the Church will find speedy fruits. But this you will more clearely see by the Speech it selfe, which followeth here according to the best and most perfect Copies.

XI

The Speech of the L. Archbishop of Canterbury, spoken at his death upon the *Scaffold* on the *Tower-hill January* 10. 1644.

Good People,

THis *is an uncomfortable time to Preach, yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture*, Heb. 12. 2. Let us run with Patience that race which is set before us, looking unto JESUS the Author and finisher of our Faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Crosse, despising the shame, & is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

I have beene long in my Race, *and how I have looked to* JESUS the Author and finisher of my Faith, *He best knowes: I am now come to the end of my* Race, *and here I finde* the Crosse, *a death* of shame; *but* the shame *must be* despised, *or no comming to* the right hand of God; JESUS despised the shame *for me, and God forbid but I should* despise the shame *for Him; I am going apace (as you see) towards the Red Sea, and my feet are now upon the very brinke of it; an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into* the Land of Promise, *for that was* the way through which he led his People: *But before they came to it, He instituted a* Passeover *for them, a* Lambe *it was, but it must be* eaten with sowre Hearbes, *I shall obey, and labour to digest the* sower Herbes, *as well as the* Lambe. *And I shall remember it is* the Lord's Passover; *I shall not thinke of the* Herbs, *nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them; but looke up only*

Exod. 12. 8.

to Him who instituted that, and governes these; For men can have no more power over me then what is given them from above. *I am not in love with this passage, through the Red Sea, for I have the weakenesse and infirmities of flesh and bloud plentifully in me; And I have prayed with my Saviour,* ut transiret Calix iste, *that* this Cup *of Red wine* might passe from me: *But if not,* God's will (not mine) be done, *and I shall most willingly* drinke of this Cup *as deep as He pleases, and enter into this Sea, yea and passe through it,* in the way that he shall lead me. Joh. 19 11. Luk. 22. 41.

But I would have it remembred (Good people) that when Gods Servants were in this boysterous Sea, and Aaron *among them, the* Ægyptians *which persecuted them (and did in a manner drive them into that Sea) were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them; I know* my God whom I serve, *is as able to deliver me from this Sea of Bloud, as he was to deliver the* three Children *from the Furnace; and (I most humbly thanke my Saviour for it) my Resolution is now, as theirs was then; They* would not worship the Image the King had set up, *nor will I the Imaginations which the People are setting up; nor will I forsake the* Temple and the truth of God, *to follow the bleating of* Jeroboams *Calfe, in* Dan *and in* Bethel. *And as* for this People, *they are at this day miserably misled, (God of his mercy open their Eyes that they may see the right way) for at this day* the Blind lead the Blind, *and if they goe on,* both will certainely into the ditch. *For my selfe, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most greivous sinner many wayes, by thought, word, and deed, and I cannot doubt, but that God hath mercy in store for me (a poore Penitent) as well as for other sinners. I have now upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my Heart, and yet (I thank God) I have not found (among the many) any one sinne which deserves death by any knowne Law of this Kingdome; And yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon proofe (by valuable witnesses) I or any other innocent, may be justly condemned; And (I* Dan. 3. Luk. 6. 39.

 thank

thanke God) though the weight of the ſentence lye heavy upon me, I am as quiet within, as ever I was in my life. And though I am not only the firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt man that ever dyed by an Ordinance in Parliament, *yet ſome of my Predeceſſors have gone this way, though not by this meanes; For* Elphegus *was hurried away and loſt his head by the* Danes; *and* Symon Sudbury *in the fury of* Wat Tyler *and his fellowes; Before theſe, Saint* John Baptiſt *had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and Saint* Cyprian, *Archbiſhop of* Carthage, *ſubmitted his head to a perſecuting Sword. Many Examples (great and good) and they teach me patience; for I hope my Cauſe in Heaven will looke of another dye, then the colour that is put upon it here. And ſome comfort it is to me, not only that I goe the way of theſe great men in their ſeverall generations, but alſo that my Charge (as fowle as 'tis made) lookes like that of the* Jewes *againſt Saint* Paul (Acts. 25. 3.) *For he was accuſed for the* Law *and the* Temple, i. e. Religion; *And like that of Saint* Stephen (Acts. 6. 14.) *for breaking the* Ordinances which Moſes gave, i. e. *Law and Religion,* the holy place and the Temple (verſe. 13.) *But you will ſay, doe I then compare my ſelfe with the integrity of Saint* Paul, *and Saint* Stephen? *No, farre be that from me; I only raiſe a Comfort to my ſelfe, that theſe great Saints and Servants of God were laid at in their times, as I am now. And 'tis memorable, that Saint* Paul *who helped on this Accuſation againſt Saint* Stephen, *did after fall under the very ſame himſelfe. Yea, but here's a great Clamour that I would have brought in Popery; I ſhall Anſwer that more fully by and by; In the meane time you know what the Phariſees ſaid againſt*

Joh. 11. 48. *Chriſt himſelfe,* If we let him alone, all men will beleive in him, *Et venient Romani,* and the Romans will come, and take away both our place and the Nation. *Here was a cauſeleſſe Cry againſt Chriſt that* the Romans would come; *And ſee how juſt the judgement of God was; they crucified Chriſt for feare leſt the* Romans *ſhould come, and his death was it which brought in the* Romans *upon them, God puniſhing them with*

with that which they moſt feared: and I pray God, this Clamour of Venient Romani *(of which I have given no cauſe) helpe not to bring them in; for the Pope never had ſuch a Harveſt in* England *ſince the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Diviſions that are amongſt us. In the meane time,* by Honour and diſhonour, by good report and evill report, as a deceiver and yet true, *am I paſſing through this world,* 2 Cor. 6. 8. *---Some particulars alſo I thinke it not amiſſe to ſpeake of.*

And firſt, this I ſhall be bold to ſpeake of, the King our gracious Soveraign; He hath bin much traduced alſo for bringing in of Popery, but on my Conſcience (of which I ſhall give God a very preſent accompt) I know Him to be as free from this Charge, as any man living; and I hold Him to be as ſound a Proteſtant (according to the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed) as any man in this Kingdome; And that He will venture His Life as farre, and as freely for it; and I thinke I doe, or ſhould know, both His affection to Religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

The ſecond particular is concerning this great and Populous City, (which God bleſſe.) Here hath beene of late, a faſhion taken up, to gather hands, and then goe to the Great Court of this Kingdome, (the Parliament) and clamour for Juſtice; as if that great and wiſe Court, before whom the Cauſes come, (which are unknowne to the many) could not, or would not doe Juſtice, but at their appointment. A way, which may endanger many an Innocent *man, and plucke his bloud upon their owne heads, and perhaps upon the Citie's alſo: And this hath beene lately practiſed againſt my ſelfe;* [the Magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill, and ſuffering them openly to proceed from Pariſh to Pariſh without Checke;] *God forgive the ſetters of this (with all my heart I begge it) but many well meaning People are caught by it. In Saint* Stephen's *caſe, when nothing elſe would ſerve,* they ſtirred up the People againſt him; *and* Herod *went the ſame way, when he had killed Saint* James, *yet he would not venture upon Saint* Peter, *till he found how the other*

Reader the words included [] are left out in the ſpeech publiſhed by *Hinde.* Act. 6, 12.

pleased the People. *But take heed of having your* hands full of bloud, *for there is a time (best knowne to Himselfe) when*
Isa. 1. 15. *God (above other sinnes)* makes Inquisition for bloud, *and when that Inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us*, That
Ps. 9. 12. God remembers *(but that's not all)* He remembers and forgets not the Complaint of the Poore, *that is, whose bloud is shed by oppression*, vers. 9. *take heed of this*, 'Tis a feare full thing
Heb. 12. to fall into the hands of the living God, *but then especially*, when he is making Inquisition for bloud; *And (with my Prayers to avert it) I doe heartily desire this City to remember the Propheſy that is expreſſed*, Jer. 26. 15.

See the words at large in the title of this Relation.

The third particular is the poore Church of England. *It hath flouriſhed and beene a ſhelter to other neighbouring Churches, when ſtormes have driven upon them. But, alas, now 'tis in a ſtorme it ſelfe, and God onely knowes whether, or how it ſhall get out; and (which is worſe then a ſtorme from without) it's become like an Oake cleft to ſhivers with wedges made out of it's owne body, and at every cleft, Prophaneneſſe and Irreligion is entring in, while, as* Proſper *ſpeakes (in his ſecond Book* De vitæ contemptu, cap. 4.) Men that introduce prophaneneſſe are cloaked over with the name *Religionis Imaginariæ*, of Imaginary Religion; *for we have loſt the Subſtance and dwell too much in Opinion, and that Church which all the Jeſuits machinations could not ruine, is fallen into danger by her owne.*

The laſt particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is my ſelfe; I was borne and baptized in the boſome of the Church of England *eſtabliſhed by Law; in that profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in that I come now to dye; This is no time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in matter of Religion; and therefore I deſire it may be remembred, I have alwaies lived in the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in* England, *and in that I come now to dye. What Clamours and Slaunders I have endured for labouring to keepe a Uniformity in the externall ſervice of God, according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of this Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.*

Now

Now at last I am accused of High Treason *in Parliament: a Crime which my soule ever abhorred; this Treason was charged to consist of these two parts*, An endeavour to subvert the Lawes of the Land, *and a like* Endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion Established by Law. *Besides my answers to the severall Charges, I protested my Innocency in both Houses. It was said Prisoners protestations at the Barre must not be taken. I can bring no witnesse of my heart and the intentions thereof, therefore I must come to my Protestation not at the barre, but my Protestation at this houre and instant of my death; in which I hope all men will be such charitable Christians, as not to thinke I would dye and dissemble, being instantly to give God an accompt for the truth of it; I doe therefore here in the presence of God and his holy Angells, take it upon my death, That I never endeavoured the subversion either of* Law *or* Religion; *and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine for my Innocency, in these, and from all Treasons whatsoever. I have beene accused likewise as an Enemy to Parliaments: No, I understand them and the benefit that comes by them too well to be so; But I did mislike the misgovernments of some Parliaments many waies, and I had good reason for it; For* Corruptio optimi est pessima, *there is no corruption in the world so bad, as that which is of the best thing in it selfe; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the highest Court, over which no other have Jurisdiction, when 'tis mis-informed or misgoverned, the Subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of those bitter Enemies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he doe but conceive that I have, Lord doe thou forgive me, and I begge forgivenesse of him. And so I heartily desire you to joyne in Prayer with me.*

The Arch Bishops prayer upon the Scaffold.

O *Eternall God and mercifull Father, looke downe upon me in mercy, in the Riches and fulnesse of all thy mercies look upon me; but not till thou hast nailed my sinnes to the Crosse of*

Christ

Christ, not till thou hast bathed me in the bloud of Christ, not till I have hid my selfe in the wounds of Christ: that so the punishment due unto my sinnes may passe over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech thee give me now in this great instant, full Patience, proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to dye for thy Honour, the King's happinesse, and this Churches preservation And my zeale to these (farre from Arrogancy be it spoken,) is all the sinne (humane frailty excepted and all incidents thereto.) which is yet knowne to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer; I say in this particular of Treason; *but otherwise my sinnes are many and great: Lord pardon them all, and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawne downe this present judgment upon me: and when thou hast given me strength to beare it, doe with me as seemes best in thine owne eyes: and carry me through death that I may looke upon it in what visage soever it shall appeare to me,* Amen. *And that there may be a stop of this issue of bloud, in this more then miserable Kingdom,* (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, aswell as for my selfe) *O Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of Repentance to all Bloud-thirsty people; but if they will not repent, O Lord Confound all their devices, Defeat and Frustrate all their Designes and Endeavours upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and His Posterity after Him in their just Rights and Priviledges, the Honour and Conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this Poore Church in her Truth, Peace, and Patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed People under their ancient Lawes, and in their native Liberties. And when thou hast done all this in meere mercy for them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankefulnesse, and with Religious dutifull obedience to thee and thy Commandements all their daies:* So Amen, *Lord Jesus* Amen, *and receive my Soule into thy Bosome,* Amen. Our Father which art, &c.

The

The ſpeech and Prayers being ended he gave the Paper which he read unto Doctor *Sterne*, deſiring hm to ſhew it to his other Chaplaines, that they might know how he departed out of this world, and ſo prayed God to ſhew his mercies and bleſſings on them. And noting how one *Hinde* had employed himſelfe in taking a Copy of his *Speech* as it came from his mouth; he deſired him not *to doe him wrong* in publiſhing a falſe or imperfect Copy. Which as *Hinde* promiſed him to be carefull of, calling for puniſhment from above if he ſhould doe otherwiſe; ſo hath he reaſonably well performed his promiſe: the Alterations or Additions which occurre therein, being perhaps the worke of thoſe who peruſed his Papers, and were to Authorize them to the publicke veiw, to fit it more unto the palat of the City faction, and make it more conſiſtent with the credit of thoſe guilty men, who had voted to his condemnation. This done, he next applyed himſelfe to the *fatall Blocke*, as to the Haven of his reſt. But finding the way full of people, who had placed themſelves upon the *Theatre* to behold the *Tragedy*, he deſired *he might have roome to dye*, beſeeching them to let *him have an end of his miſeries, which he had endured very long*. All which he did with ſo ſerene and calme a minde, as if he had beene rather taking order for another mans funerall, then making way unto his owne. Being come neare the *Blocke*, he put off his doublet, and uſed ſome words to this effect, *God's will be done, I am willing to goe out of this world, no man can be more willing to ſend me out of it*. And ſeeing through the chinkes of the boards that ſome people were got under the *Scaffold*, about the very place where the *Blocke* was ſeated, he called on the Officers for ſome duſt to ſtop them, or to remove the people thence, ſaying it was no part of his deſires, that *his blond ſhould fall upon the heads of the People*. Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor looke upon his bloudy and malicious enemies with more *Chriſtian* charity, And thus farre he was gone in his way towards *Paradiſe*

XII.

with such a Primitive magnanimity, as equalled if not exceeded the example of ancient martyrs, When he was somewhat interrupted in his quiet passage by one Sir *John Clotworthy*, a fire-brand brought from *Ireland* by the Earle of *Warwicke* to increase the Combustions in this Kingdome. Who finding that the *mockings and revilings* of malicious people had no power to move him, or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion; would needes put in, and try what he could do with his *Sponge and vineger*, and stepping to him neare the blocke, asked him, (with such a purpose as the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* used to propose questions to our Lord and Saviour) not to learne by him but to tempt him, or to expose him to some disadvantage with the standers by, what was the comfortablest saying which a dying man could have in his mouth. To which he meekely made this answere, *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo; i. e. I desire to be dissolv'd and to be with Christ.* Being asked againe what was the fittest speech a man could use, to expresse his confidence and assurance; he answered with the same spirit of meekenesse, that such *assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to expresse it rightly.* Which when it would not satisfy the troublesome and impertinent man (who aimed at something else then such satisfaction) unlesse he gave some word, or place of Scripture, whereupon such assurance might be truly founded; he used some words to this effect, that it was the *word of God concerning* CHRIST, and *his dying for us.* And so without expecting any further questions (for he perceived by the manner of Sir *John's* proceedings, that there would be no end of his interruptions, if he hearkened any longer to him) he turned towards his *Executioner* (the gentler and discreeter man of the two) and gave him money, saying without the least distemper or change of countenance, *here, honest freind, God forgive thee, and do thy office upon me with mercy,* and having given a signe when the blow should come, he kneeled downe upon his knees, and prayed as followeth.

The

The Lord Archbiſhops Prayes, as he kneeled by the Blocke.

XIII. *Lord, I am comming as faſt as I can, I know I muſt paſſe through the ſhadow of death, before I can come to ſee thee. But it is but* umbra mortis, *a meere ſhadow of death, a little darkneſſe upon nature; but thou by thy merits and paſſion haſt broke through the jawes of death. So, Lord receive my ſoule, and have mercy upon mee, and bleſſe this Kingdome with Peace and Plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effuſion of Chriſtian blond amongſt them, for* JESUS CHRIST'S *ſake, if it be thy will.* Then laying his head upon the *Blocke*, and praying ſilently to himſelfe, he ſaid aloud, *Lord receive my Soule*, which was the ſignall given to the *Executioner*, who very dextrouſly did his office, and tooke it off at a blow: his ſoule aſcending on the wings of Angels into *Abrahams boſome*, and leaving his *Body* on the *Scaffold*, to the care of men. A ſpectacle to unpleaſing unto moſt of thoſe who had deſired his death with much heat and paſſion, that many who came with greedy eyes to ſee him ſuffer, went backe with weeping eyes when they ſaw him dead; their conſciences perhaps bearing witneſſe to them, as you know whoſe did, that they *had ſinned* in being guilty of ſuch *innocent blond*. Of thoſe, whom onely curioſity, and deſire of novelty brought thither to behold that unuſuall ſight, many had not the patience to attend the iſſue, but went away aſſoone as the Speech was ended; others returned much altered in the opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their reſolutions towards the King and the Church, whoſe honour and religious purpoſes they ſaw ſo clearly vindicated by this glorious Martyr. And for the reſt (the moſt conſiderable, though perhaps the ſmalleſt part of that great aſſembly) as they came thither with no other intention, then to aſſiſt him with their prayers, to imbalme his body with their teares,

and to lay up his dying ſpeeches in their hearts and memories: ſo when they had performed thoſe offices of Chriſtian duty, they comforted themſelves with this, that as his life was honourable, ſo his death was glorious, the paines whereof were ſhort and momentany to himſelfe, the benefit like to be perpetuall, unto them and others, who were reſolved to live and die in the Communion of the Church of *England*.

XIV. But to proceed (for I have ſome few things to note) it was obſerved, that whereas other men, when they come to the *Blocke*, uſe to looke pale, and wan, and ghaſtly, and are even dead before the blow, he on the contrary ſeemed more freſh and cheerfull, then he had done any part of the day before: a cleare and gallant ſpirit being like the Sunne, which ſhewes greateſt alwaies at the ſetting. And as the Scripture telleth us of Saint *Stephen* the *Proto-Martyr*, that whilſt he ſpake his laſt Oration before the chiefe *Prieſts*, and *Elders* of the *Jewes*, they of *the Counſell looking ſtedfaſtly upon him, ſaw his face as it had beene the face of an Angell*: ſo was it generally obſerved, not without aſtoniſhment, that all the while our *Martyr* prayed upon the *Blocke*, the Sunne which had not ſhowne it ſelfe all the day till then, did ſhine directly on his face, which made him looke moſt comfortably (that I ſay not gloriouſly) but preſently as ſoone as the Blow was given, withdrew behind a cloud againe, and appeared no more, as we are credibly advertiſed by good hands from *London*, though it be otherwiſe reported in their weekly Pamphlets. And if the bodies of us men be capable of any happineſſe in the *grave*, he had as great a ſhare therein, as he could deſire, or any of his friends expect; His body being accompanied to the earth with great multitudes of people, whom love, or curioſity, or remorſe of conſcience had drawne together, purpoſely to performe that office, and decently interred in the Church of *All-hallowes Barking* (a Church of his owne Patronage and Juriſdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies

Act. 6. 15.

of

of the Church of *England*. In which it may be noted, as a thing remarkeable, that being whilſt he lived the greateſt Champion of the *Common prayer-Booke*, here by Law eſtabliſhed, he had the honour being dead, to be buried in the forme therein preſcribed, after it had beene long diſuſed, and reprobated in moſt Churches of *London*. Nor need poſterity take care to provide his *Monument*. He built one for himſelfe whilſt he was alive: it being well obſerved by Sir *Edw. Dering* (one of his moſt malicious *enemies*, and he who *threw the firſt ſtone at him*, in the beginning of this *Parliament*) *that Saint* Paules *Church will be his perpetuall Monument, and his owne Booke* (againſt the *Jeſuite*) *his laſting Epitaph*. In his Book of Speeches.

Thus died this moſt Reverend, Renowned, and Religious Prelate: when hee had lived, 71 yeares, 13 weekes, 4 dayes: if at the leaſt he may be properly ſaid to die, the great example of whoſe vertue ſhall continue alwaies, not onely in the mindes of men, but in the Annals of ſucceeding Ages, with Renowne and Fame. But how he lived, what excellent parts he was compoſed of, and how induſtriouſly he imployed thoſe parts, for the advancement of Gods honour, his Soveraignes Power and Safety, and the Churches Peace, will be a worke becoming a more able pen; unto whoſe care and diligence I commend the ſame. And ſo I leave him to that comfort which the *Pſalmiſt* gives him, and 'tis the greateſt comfort can befall thoſe men, which have beene tortured on the *Racke* of malicious tongues: *viz. The righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance, and ſhall not be afraid of any evill report*. Pſ. 112. v. 6, 7. XV.

Horat.

Horat. Carm. l. 4 Ode. 8.

Dignum Laude *virum Musa vetat mori.*

AND yet not leave thee thus, I faine would try
A line or two in way of *Elegie*;
And waile so sad a losse, if to expresse
The greatnesse of it would not make it lesse:
If to lament thee might not vex thee more,
Then all the scornes thou hast endur'd before;
And make thee thinke we envied thee thy start,
Or doubted that thou wer't not what thou art.
Yet, with thy leave, I needs must droppe a verse,
Write it with Teares, and fit it for thy herse;
And at this distance from thy grave, which lackes,
The pompes of sorrow, hang my heart with blackes.
Religious Prelate, what a calme hast thou
I'th midst of all those turbulent stormes, which now
Shipwrack this Iland! At how cheape a rate
Hast thou procur'd this change of thy Estate;
The *Mitre* for a *Crowne*, a few poore daies
For endlesse blisse, vile earth for heavenly joies!
Such glories hast thou found, such alteration,
In this thy higheft, as thy last *Translation*.
How were thine Enemies deceiv'd, when they
Advanc'd thee thus, and chalk'd thee out the way;
A way so welcome to thee! No *Divine*
But knowes the *Red Sea* leades to *Palestine*;
And that since JESUS sanctified the *Crosse*,
Death's the best purchase, life the greatest losse.
Nor be thou greiv'd, bless't Soule, that men doe still

Pursue

Purſue thee with blacke ſlaunders, and doe kill
Thy ſhadow now, and trample on thy Ghoſt,
(As *Hectors* Carcaſſe by the *Grecian* hoſt;)
Or that thou want'ſt *inſcriptions*, and a ſtone
T'ingrave thy name, and write thy Titles on.
Thou art above thoſe trifles, and ſhalt ſtand
As much above mens malice. Though the hand
Of baſe detraction practice to defame
Thy ſpotleſſe vertues, yet impartiall fame
Shall doe thee all juſt honours, and ſet forth
To all ſucceeding times thy matchleſſe worth.
No Annals ſhall be writ but what relate
Thy happy influence both on Church and State;
Thy zeale to publicke order, thy great parts
For all affaires of weight, thy love to Arts:
And to our ſhame and his great glory, tell
For whoſe deare ſake, by whoſe vile hands he fell
(A death ſo full of merits, of ſuch price,
To God and man ſo ſweet a ſacrifice;
As by good Church-law may his name preferre
To a fixt *Rubrick* in the Calender.
And let this ſilence the pure Sect's complaint,
If they make *Martyrs*, we may make a Saint.)
Or ſhould men envy thee this right, thy praiſe
An *Obeliſque* unto it ſelfe can raiſe.
Thy brave attempt on *Pauls* in times to come
Shall be a Monument beyond a Tombe.
Thy *Booke* ſhall be thy *Statua*, where we finde
The image of thy nobler part, thy minde.
Thy name ſhall be thine *Epitaph*; and he
Which heare's or read's of that, ſhall publiſh thee
Above the reach of *Titles*, and ſhall ſay
None could expreſſe thy worthes a braver way.
And thus though murder'd, thou ſhalt never dye,
But live renown'd to all Poſterity.

Rest thou then happy in the sweets of blisse;
Th' *Elyzian* feilds, the Christians *Paradise*;
Exempt from worldly cares, secure from feares;
And let us have thy prayers, as thou our Teares.

Ad Regem CAROLUM.

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior, quàm tibi, CAROLE.
Horat. Carm. l. 1. Ode. 24.

FINIS.